

*BENGAL DISTRICT GAZETTEERS.*

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**CUTTACK.**

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# CUTTACK.

BY  
L. S. S. O'MALLEY,  
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## PREFACE.

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THE district of Cuttack possesses a more complete bibliography than most of the districts of Bengal. A full account of the people and their circumstances was written by Mr. Stirling in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and his Account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack, published in 1822, is still the principal authority for the early history of the district under British rule. The modern authority is Mr. Maddox's Final Report on the Survey and Settlement of the Province of Orissa, 1890 to 1900 A.D., which contains an exhaustive review of the economic condition of that Province; and the intermediate authorities are Toynbee's Sketch of the History of Orissa from 1803 to 1828, published in 1873, and Sir W. W. Hunter's account published in 1877 in Vol. XVIII of the Statistical Account of Bengal. In writing the present volume I have made use of all these sources of information, and especially of Mr. Maddox's Report, which has been described as "a veritable Encyclopædia of the Province." My thanks are due to Babu Jemini Mohan Das, M.A., B.L., for his ready assistance in revising the description of the religions and castes of Cuttack and for a note on the Utkal Brahmans; and I am especially indebted to Babu Monmohan Chakravarti, M.A., B.L., M.E.A.S., who has been so good as to write for the Gazetteer an account of the history of Orissa up to the time of the Muhammadan invasion.

L. S. S. O'MALLEY

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# GAZETTEER

## OF THE

### CUTTACK DISTRICT.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### PHYSICAL ASPECTS.

CUTTACK, the central district of the Orissa Commissionership or Division, is situated between  $20^{\circ} 2'$  and  $21^{\circ} 10'$  north latitude, and between  $85^{\circ} 21'$  and  $87^{\circ} 1'$  east longitude. It contains an area, according to the latest survey, of 3,654 square miles; and a total population, as ascertained by the census of 1901, of 2,062,758 souls. The principal town, which is also the administrative head-quarters of the district and of the Orissa Division, is Cuttack, situated on a tongue of land formed by the Mahānadi and Kātjuri rivers at their point of bifurcation, in  $20^{\circ} 29'$  north latitude and  $85^{\circ} 52'$  east longitude.

The town was formerly one of the royal strongholds of ancient Orissa, and still contains the remains of the citadel in which its rulers once held their court. From this circumstance it derived the name of *Kataka* or fort; and, as is frequently the case, the designation of the capital town was in course of time given to the surrounding country.

The district is bounded on the north by the Baitarani river and Dhāmra estuary, which separate it from the district of Balasore; on the east by the Bay of Bengal; on the south by the district of Puri; and on the west by the Tributary States of Orissa.

It consists of three distinct tracts differing widely in their physical aspects. The first is a marshy woodland strip, from 3 to 30 miles in breadth, extending along the coast from the river Dhāmra on the north to the Devi on the south; the second is a

\* The area of the district shewn in the census report of 1901 was 3,824 square miles; the area shewn above is that reported by the Surveyor-General.

cultivated alluvial plain formed from the deposits of its great rivers; and the third is a broken hilly region forming the western boundary of the district.

The marshy strip along the coast is a low woodland tract, abounding in swamps and morasses and intersected by innumerable winding creeks with a coarse jungly growth of canes, brushwood and reedy grass on either side. It has aptly been described as the Sundarbans on a miniature scale, and it resembles that tract in its swamps, dense jungle and noxious atmosphere. This dismal region is subject to inundations of sea water, which leave a deposit of salt on the surface of the low-lying country, and in many parts render cultivation impossible. The only means of communication are the small sluggish streams winding into the heart of the jungle, along which country boats convey supplies of wood to the villages in the adjoining delta. The latter consists of a level plain stretching inland for about 40 miles, and occupying the country between the marshy sea-coast strip and the hilly frontier. It is intersected by several large rivers, which emerge from the western mountains and throw out a network of branches in every direction; these, after innumerable twists and interlacings, frequently rejoin the parent stream as it approaches the sea. It is a region of rich rice-fields, dotted with magnificent banyan trees, thickets of bamboos, mango orchards and palm groves of exquisite foliage; and it forms the only really fertile part of the district.

#### HILLS.

The frontier separating the district from the Tributary States on the west consists of a chain of hills, covering about 46 square miles, with thickly wooded slopes and fertile valleys between. The greatest distance of this hilly region from the sea coast is about 60 to 70 miles, but in many places the breadth of the alluvial plain does not exceed 15 to 20 miles. The hills do not consist of long continuous ranges, but are generally found in irregularly scattered groups, running nearly due east and west for a distance of about 15 miles. With the exception of a few naked bluffs, they are for the most part covered with vegetation; their outline, however abrupt, is always more or less rounded; and it is evident that they owe their present form to marine action. On the other hand, some hills, which appear from a distance to be flat-topped, really consist of a series of steep rugged ridges separated by deep precipitous valleys cut out by the denuding action of running water. In this western tract lie all the hills of the district with the exception of a few isolated peaks which break the evenness of the plain to the north of Cuttack. None of them are more than 2,500 feet high, but many are of great interest on account

of the shrines or ancient forts with which they are crowned. The most interesting hills are in the Assia range, particularly Naltigiri, with its sandal trees and Buddhist remains; Udayagiri, with its colossal image of Buddha, sacred reservoir, ruined temples and caves; Assiagiri, the highest hill in the district, standing 2,500 feet above the sea, with an old mosque nearly 200 years old; and the Mahāvināyaka peak in *Kila* Darpan, which has been consecrated for ages to Siva-worship by the devout ascetics and pious pilgrims who have penetrated its dense jungle. This hilly borderland and the low lands along the coast were formerly known as the Rājwāra or Zamindāra, and were held by feudal chiefs, who paid a tribute to their overlord, but otherwise retained an independent power; while the wide alluvial plains forming the delta of the Mahānadi, Brāhmanī and Baitaranī rivers constituted the Mughalbandi or Khālsa, *i.e.*, the crown lands from which the Mughal conquerors, like the indigenous sovereigns before them, derived the greater part of their revenue.

The most conspicuous feature in the general aspect of the district is its system of rivers, which issue in three magnificent streams through three great gorges in the mountainous country to the west. To the south, the Mahānadi debouches upon the plains just above Narāj, 70 miles from the sea; on the extreme north of the district, the sacred Baitaranī emerges from a more open country, and forms the boundary between Cuttack and Balasore; and the Brāhmanī enters the district about halfway between the two. Cuttack is thus divided into two great valleys, one of them lying between the Baitaranī and Brāhmanī and the other between the Brāhmanī and Mahānadi.

During the hot weather the upper channels of these rivers dwindle to insignificant streams dotted here and there with stagnant pools; but in the rainy season they bring down an enormous mass of water from the high table-lands in which they take their rise. Towards the coast they gradually converge, and pouring down their accumulated waters upon the level plain within 30 miles of each other, are only prevented from bursting over their banks and sweeping across the country by a great system of embankments. These great rivers drain an immense area amounting to over 65,000 square miles, and the rapidity of the current acquired among the mountains brings down a vast quantity of silt in suspension. As soon however as the river reaches the plains and leaves the broken hilly region for the level delta, its current is checked. The further it goes the more sluggish does its stream become, and the river, being unable to carry down the sand with which it is charged, deposits it in its bed and on its banks. By

RIVER  
SYSTEM.

degrees, therefore, the bed is raised, and the river flows at a higher level than the surrounding country; and the central portion rising more rapidly than the banks, the channel of the river becomes gradually shallower. The distributaries of the main rivers have their beds raised in the same way; and the result is that the rivers and their various channels become less and less able to carry off the water-supply to the sea, and frequently prove inadequate to furnish an outlet for the vast volume of water poured in at their heads during the rainy season. The velocity which these great rivers obtain in descending from the interior table-land being thus checked, they break up into a hundred distributaries radiating across the level plains. The distributaries, struggling by a thousand contortions and convolutions towards the coast, form a network of rivers, which joining here and separating there generally reunite with one of the three parent channels as they approach the sea.

The following table illustrates the main points in the river system of the district:—

BAITARANI	{ Baitarani . . . . .	Baitarani . . . . .	Dhām- ra.	
	{ Burha . . . . .			
BRAHMANI	{ Kharsū . . . . .	{ Patiyā } Kharsū . . . . .	Dhām- ra.	
		{ Kharsū . . . . .		
	{ Brāhmanī . . . . .	{ Brāhmanī . Brāhmanī . . . . .		{ Brāhmanī }
		{ Kīmlirā . . . . .		
MAHĀNADI	{ Mahā- nadi.	{ Birupā } Genguti . . . . .	BAY OF BENGAL.	
		{ Birupā . . . . .		{ Birupā . . . . .
	{ Mahā- nadi.	{ Chitartala . } Nān . . . . .		{ Mahā- nadi.
		{ Chitartala . . . . .		
	{ Mahānadi .	{ Mahānadi . } Sukpaikā . . . . .		{ Mahā- nadi.
		{ Paikā . . . . .		
	{ Kātjuri .	{ Kātjuri . } Suruā . . . . .		{ Kātjuri .
		{ Kātjuri . . . . .		
	{ Kātjuri .	{ Kātjuri .		{ Kātjuri (closed by an embank- ment.)
		{ Devī .		{ Numerous } { Interlacings }
		{ Devī .		

Koyākhāi (supplies Puri district, and after many bifurcations finds its way into the Chilka Lake).

The  
Mahānadi.

The Mahānadi (the great river) has a catchment basin of 48,200 square miles, and is by far the largest of all the rivers which water the plains of Orissa. Taking its rise in the mountainous country of the Central Provinces, it emerges from the Tributary States and pours down upon the delta at Narāj, about 7 miles west of the town of Cuttack. It traverses the district from west to east and throwing off numerous branches on its way falls into the

Bay of Bengal by several channels near False Point, in  $20^{\circ} 18' N.$ , and  $86^{\circ} 43' E.$ , after a course of 529 miles.

During its progress through the hill country, it receives a vast number of streams and tributaries from the high land on either banks, but no sooner does it reach the plains than its character changes. It now forms a great delta-head, and instead of receiving confluent it shoots out a hundred distributaries. At Narāj it bifurcates, the southern branch being known as the Kātjuri, while the northern retains the name of the parent stream. The town of Cuttack is built on the spit which separates the two rivers, and opposite the town the Mahānadi proper throws off a large branch known as the Birūpā. Flowing in a north-easterly direction for about 12 miles, the Birūpā gives off the Genguti on its left bank, the two streams enclosing between them the island of Kuhunda Jaipur; the Genguti meets the Kimiriā, an offshoot of the Brāhmanī, about 18 miles below the point of bifurcation, and rejoins its parent stream a mile lower down. After receiving the waters brought down by these streams and by the Kelo, another branch of the Brāhmanī, the Birūpā discharges itself into the main stream of the Brāhmanī a little above Indpur, and their united waters ultimately find their way into the Bay of Bengal by the Dhāmra estuary. Just below the bifurcation of the Mahānadi and the Birūpā both rivers are dammed by anicuts which control the supply of water to the head sluices of the High Level and Kendrapāra canals.

After passing Cuttack, the Mahānadi divides into three branches, the Chitartala to the north, the Mahānadi in the centre and the Paikā to the south. The Chitartala branch leaves the parent stream about 10 miles below the Birūpā mouth, and soon bifurcates into the Chitartala and the Nūn. These streams unite after a course of about 20 miles, and under the name of the Nūn, fall into the Mahānadi estuary a few miles from the coast, and so into the Bay of Bengal. Ten miles from the point of bifurcation the Paikā and Mahānadi rejoin, but only to separate again into the Sukpaikā and Mahānadi; these branches reunite further down, and then dividing into a number of channels pass into the Bay of Bengal.

The Kātjuri, which, as already stated, is an arm of the Maha-<sup>The</sup> nadi, branches off at Narāj and then immediately divides into two, <sup>Kātjuri.</sup> of which the southern branch, known as the Koyākhāi or crow's pool, passes into the district of Puri; its mouth is closed by a bar, so that little water flows into it except at flood time, and it is practically a spill-channel of the Kātjuri. A short way below Cuttack the main stream throws off the Suruā, which however

rejoins it after a course of a few miles. A little lower down the Kātjuri divides again and throws off a large distributary, the Devī, down which the main body of its water passes. During its course to the sea this latter river gives off a great number of branches, the Kandal, Khandia, Dhobikhai, Purāna Devī and other minor channels, which all eventually reunite, and flow, under the name of the Devī, through the Puri district into the Bay of Bengal. The two northerly branches of the Kātjuri, the Alankā and the Kātjuri proper, have on the other hand been cut off at their head by the Devī left embankment, and the water originally carried by them has been diverted into the Devī and Tampua. The Kātjuri is said to have been originally\* a comparatively small stream, and its name implies that it could at one time be crossed by a plank. During the last century, however, the volume of water passing down its channel increased considerably, and the head of the river became so much enlarged that it could not carry off the enormous volume of water poured into it by the Mahānadi. A weir and training embankment were therefore constructed at Narāj between 1860 and 1865, in order to regulate the flow and divert some of the water to the Mahānadi channels.

The  
Brāhmani.

The Brāhmani, which has a catchment basin of 13,700 square miles, is formed by the junction of the South Koel and Sankh rivers in the Gāngpur State. After passing through the Bonai, Tālcher and Dhenkānāl States, it enters Cuttack district near Jenāpur, where it is crossed by an anicut. It then follows a winding easterly course, and reaches the Bay of Bengal by two mouths, the Dhāmra estuary and the Maipāra river, in  $20^{\circ} 47' N.$ , and  $86^{\circ} 58' E.$ , 260 miles from its source. The principal branch of the Brāhmani is the Kimiriā, which takes off on its right bank opposite Rājendrapur village, and after meeting the Genguti, Kelo, and Birūpā, falls again into the parent stream near Indpur under the name of the Birūpā. On its left bank, the Brāhmani throws off the Kharsuā, which again divides into the Kharsuā and Patiā; but the two channels reunite a little lower down and fall into the Dhāmra. As it approaches the sea, the Brāhmani mixes its waters with those of the Baitarani, and the united stream forms a noble estuary known as the Dhāmra river.

The  
Baitarani.

The Baitarani, rising among the hills in the north-west of the Keonjhar State, flows first in a south-westerly and then in an

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\* From the fact that clay is found at 25 to 35 feet below mean sea-level, it appears that this channel is of great age. In the case of the Koyākhāi clay is met with just above mean sea-level indicating a somewhat later origin; and in the greater part of the main channel of the Mahānadi only sand has been found, from which it may be inferred that this is the main channel of the river.

easterly direction, forming successively the boundary between the Keonjhar and Mayūrbhanj States and between Keonjhar and Cuttack. It enters this district near the village of Bālipur; and after flowing in a winding easterly course across the delta, where it marks the boundary-line between Cuttack and Balasore, it joins its waters with the Brāhmanī, and passing by Chāndbāli finds its way into the sea under the name of the Dhāmra river. The principal branches thrown off from the right bank of the Baitaranī are cross streams connecting it with the Kharsuā, the chief of which is the Burha. It is navigable as far as Olokh, 15 miles from its mouth; but beyond this point it is not affected by the tide, and is fordable during the hot season. This river is the Styx of Hindu mythology, and legend relates that Rām, when marching to Ceylon to rescue his wife Sita from the ten-headed demon Ravana, halted on its banks on the borders of Keonjhar; in commemoration of this event large numbers of people visit the river every January.

The rivers of Cuttack find their way into the sea by four great estuaries. On the north, the Baitaranī and Brāhmanī debouch into the Bay of Bengal at Palmyras Point, by the two mouths known as the Dhāmra and Maipāra; and after numerous ramifications the Mahānadi, or rather that portion of it which remains in Cuttack district, forms two great estuaries, one generally known as the Devi, in the south-eastern corner of the district, while the other, bearing the name of the parent river, empties itself into the sea at False Point, about halfway down the coast. In spite, however, of the existence of these estuaries and of the extent of its sea face, the district does not contain a single harbour capable of sheltering ships of any great size. An eternal war goes on between the rivers and the sea on the monsoon-beaten coast, the former struggling to find vent for their columns of water and silt, the latter repelling them with its sand-laden currents. These forces counteract each other, and the sea deposits a bar outside the river mouth, while the river pushes out its delta to right and left inside. All the estuaries therefore have a bar of sand across the mouth, which prevents the entrance of vessels of any large burden except at high tide; most of the trade passes through Chāndbāli in the Balasore district at the mouth of the Baitaranī; and False Point, where ships can ride in an exposed roadway, constitutes the only anchorage on the coast. The following is a brief description of each of the estuaries.

The Devi, with its channel, the Jotdār, forms the last part of the great network of rivers into which the Kātjurī branch of the Devi estuary.

the Mahānadi bifurcates. According to a characteristic of the Cuttack streams, most of the members of this network reunite as they approach the ocean; and the result is a broad estuary, known as the Devi, which enters the sea a short distance to the south of the boundary between Cuttack and Puri. This estuary is navigable up to Māchgaon by small sloops, which use this channel to obtain cargoes of oil-seed and rice. It is one of the best tidal channels in Orissa, but owing to the bar of sand at its mouth vessels of large size cannot enter it except at high tide.

The  
Mahānadi  
estuary.

The northern branches of the Mahānadi also join as they approach the sea, and eventually enter the Bay of Bengal under the name of the parent stream. The estuary has several mouths, but the principal one is that which debouches through the shoals to the south of the False Point lighthouse. For many miles up the river, there is abundance of depth for ships of large burden; but unfortunately, as in the case of Devi, and indeed of all other Orissa harbours, a bar stretches across the mouth, which, in addition to the perils of shoal water, adds the dangers incident to constant changes in the channels and the sandbanks. The False Point harbour, which lies a little north of the Mahānadi estuary, is a comparatively exposed anchorage, and loading and unloading cannot be carried out in rough weather. Two separate channels lead inland from the anchorage, on the north the Jambu river, and on the south the Bākud creek, a short branch of the Mahānadi. A more detailed description of the harbour will be found in Chapter XV.

The  
Brāhmanī  
estuaries.

The river system of the Cuttack district on the north of the Mahānadi consists of the network of channels formed by the Brāhmanī and Baitaranī, which, after infinite windings, find their way into the sea by two great outlets at Point Palmyras. The southern of these is the Māipāra river, with its tidal creek, the Bānsгарh, which runs southward almost parallel to the coast till it joins the sea about 6 miles north of False Point harbour. The mouth of the Maipāra presents the usual obstacles of bars and high surf, and from its position on the south of the Palmyras promontory, it is inadequately protected from the monsoon. Between the months of November and March this last objection does not apply, and native craft from the Madras coast frequent it during the cold weather for the purchase of rice.

The Dhāmra, the northern exit of the united streams of the Brāhmanī and Baitaranī, forms the boundary-line between the districts of Cuttack and Balasore, but is, within the jurisdiction of

the latter district. The Dhāmra, though navigable, is rendered dangerous by a bar across its mouth; but the entrance has greatly improved of late years, and at flood tide vessels drawing as much as 18 feet can pass in with safety.

The greater portion of the district consists of alluvium. Much of this is the recent deltaic deposit of the Mahānadi and Brāhmani rivers, and occupies a tract of country extending some 30 miles from the sea, which is perfectly flat with the exception of a belt of low sand hills along the coast. In the north-western part some undulating ground consists of an older alluvium containing *kankar* and pisolitic ferruginous nodules, with no defined boundary line to separate it from the inland laterite on the one hand and from the alluvium of the delta on the other. This laterite is evidently of detrital origin, and consists of small pisolitic nodules of hæmatitic iron, and coarse quartz sand. The extent to which these cohere varies greatly. The variety used as building stone possesses the property of being quite soft and easily cut when first dug, but hardening on exposure. It occurs around all the gneissose hills near and to the west of the road from Calcutta to Cuttack, forming broad terrace-like flats stretching from hill to hill, except where it is concealed from view by the ever-lying alluvium.

GEOLOGY.

Starting from the district boundary north of the town of Cuttack and extending all along the border between Cuttack and the Tributary States of Orissa, are hills belonging to the Archæan crystalline group, which is so strongly developed throughout Southern and Eastern India. Between the Brāhmani and Mahānadi rivers these hills are more or less isolated and all composed of gneiss, in places compact and granitoid, in others partially disintegrated and marked with numerous red blotches, the remains of decomposed garnets; this soft decomposed gneiss is sometimes quarried and used for building. North of the Brāhmani river our information is less definite, but it is probable that the hill ranges consist of rocks belonging to the same crystalline group. The only other rock formation is found in a large area, to the west and south-west of the town of Cuttack, occupied by grits, sandstones and conglomerates with white or pink clay beds. These are known as the Cuttack or Athgarh sandstones. They are bounded by laterite towards the Koyākhai river and extend beyond the district boundaries into Athgarh and Puri. They are unfossiliferous, but their lithological resemblance to the Panchets of Upper Gondwana age has led to their being classed as such, although they are disconnected with the Gondwana rocks exposed in the Talcher coal-field.

For fuller details of the geology\* of the district, the following papers may be consulted: "The Geological Structure and Relations of the Talcher Coal-field" by W. T. and H. F. Blanford and W. Theobald, jun.; "The Geology of Orissa, etc.," and "The Laterite of Orissa" by W. T. Blanford, in the "Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India," Vol. I; also "A Sketch of the Geology of Orissa" by W. T. Blanford in the Records of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. V, Part II.

## BOTANY.

The banks of the sluggish rivers and creeks which wind through the swampy low-lying country near the sea exhibit the vegetation of a mangrove forest, the principal species being *Rhizophora*, *Ceriops*, *Kandelia*, *Aegiceras*, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, *Excoecaria Agallocha*, and the like. Where sand dunes intervene between the sea and the cultivated land behind, a littoral vegetation uncommon in Bengal is met with, which includes *Spinifex*, *Hydrophyllax*, *Geniosporum prostratum* and similar species. These sand hills stretching between the fertile rice plains and the sea constitute the only really distinctive feature of Orissa from a botanical point of view, and present not a few of the littoral species characteristic of the Madras sea-coast. The cultivated land which occupies the sub-montane tract to the west has the usual rice-field weeds such as *Ammannia*, *Ilysanthes*, *Dopatrium*, *Utricularia*, *Sphenoclea*, *Hygrophila*, while ponds and ditches are filled with floating water weeds like *Pistia*, *Trapa*, *Nymphaea*, *Limnanthemum*, or submerged water plants, such as *Hydrilla*, *Ceratophyllum*, *Vallisneria* and *Ottelia*. Near human habitations shrubberies containing *Trema*, *Glycosmis*, *Polyalthia suberosa*, *Triphasia*, *Adhatoda Vasica*, *Solanum tortum* and *verbascifolium*, *Clerodendron infortunatum* and such like semi-spontaneous shrubs are common. This undergrowth is loaded with a tangled mass of climbing *Naravelia*, various *Menispermaceæ*, many *Apocynaceæ*, several species of *Vitis*, a number of *Cucurbitaceæ*, *Basella*, and several *Convolvulaceæ*. The arborescent portion of these village-shrubberies includes the red cotton tree (*Bombax malabaricum*), *Odina Wodier*, *Tamarindus indica*, *Moringa pterygosperma*, the pipal (*Ficus religiosa*), the banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*), the palmyra (*Borassus flabellifer*) and the date palm (*Phoenix sylvestris*).

In the north-western portion of the district other species of a more truly forest character are found, among them being *Ailanthus excelsa*, *Pterocarpus Marsupium*, *Pterospermum Heyneanum*, *Dalbergia paniculata* and *lanccolaria*, *Melia composita*, *Adina cordifolia*,

\* The account of the geology of the district has been contributed by Mr. G. E. Pilgrim, Deputy Superintendent, Geological Survey of India.

*Schleichera trijuga*, and the like. The bamboo of the district is usually *Bambusa arundinacea*. Open glades are filled with grasses, sometimes of a reedy character; sedges are abundant, and ferns are fairly plentiful.

\* There are no forests in the district, but wide stretches of jungle Forests. extend along the sea coast and in the hilly border to the west. The woodland strip on the sea-board furnishes supplies of fire-wood and materials for cottage-building and agricultural implements; while large quantities of bamboos and fuel are brought down from the hilly tract adjoining the plains. *Sal* trees are found in *Kila* Sukindā, the proprietor of which carries on a trade in timber; and other products extracted from these western jungles are resin, wax, honey and nux vomica.

Wild animals are still plentiful in the district, in spite of the FAUNA. extension of cultivation and the construction of the canals, and some of the larger species of carnivora abound in the hilly region to the west and in the low-lying country near the sea-board, where the dense jungle has not yet given way to the plough. Tigers are found in nearly all the large tracts of jungle, especially near the coast and in the northern part of the district, but they are occasionally found killing close to the town of Cuttack itself, as the Mahānadi, lying between the station and the hills, is an effective barrier to the advance of civilization. They are responsible for comparatively little loss of cattle or human life near the coast, where the population is sparse and there is plenty of game, such as deer and pig, to supply them with food. In other parts, however, they annually cause considerable destruction, and in the four years 1901-04 they killed 67 persons and over 3,000 cattle; in the same period 63 tigers were shot and their dead bodies brought in for rewards. The jungle which they frequent is generally dense, and beats are, as a rule, unsuccessful, while, owing to the large tract of country over which they range, it is difficult to get information in time, and shooting from *machans* is, therefore, rarely attempted. Leopards are found all over the district; bear, spotted deer, hog-deer, *sāmbār* (*Cervus unicolor*) and mouse-deer are common in the interior; while black buck have their habitat on the sandy tracts along the coast. Bison are now rare, but stray wild elephants occasionally wander across the borders from the Garjāts. Boar are found in large numbers along the coast near Jambu, and porcupine, jackals and foxes are numerous. Wild dogs are occasionally met with, but wolves have now disappeared.

Indigenous quail, hare and black partridge are found in the scrub jungle, and migratory quail also occasionally visit the

district. Pea fowl and jungle fowl are common, and nearly every variety of wild duck is found. Snipe are numerous but scattered, and large bags are rare. They are seldom found in the standing paddy as in Bengal and Bihār, but prefer jungle grass in the earlier part of the season, while in January and the following months they are found in wisps in the paddy stubble. Numbers of native *shikāris* shoot, snare and net for the local markets; they destroy wholesale and are rapidly diminishing the number of game of all kinds.

Crocodiles and *ghariyāls*, or fish-eating alligators, abound in the tidal rivers and creeks, and grow to a very large size; the snub-nosed or man-eating crocodile annually levies a heavy toll on cattle and human life, and in the two years 1903-04 carried off 68 persons and 184 cattle.

A large variety of fish are found in the rivers, and the Oriya spends all his spare time in fishing, often standing up to his neck in water for the greater part of the day. Fish, either fresh or preserved by drying in the sun, are a favourite dish; dried fish, known as *sukuā*, being particularly popular with boatmen, carters, etc. *Hilsa* are caught in season, and the prawns of Cuttack are famous for their size and delicacy. Oysters are good and plentiful on the coast to the extreme north-east.

CLIMATE.  
Tempera-  
ture.

The district is directly on the track of the cyclonic storms which frequently cross Orissa during the monsoon season, and the extremes of climate are more marked than in most other parts of Bengal. In April and May the average maximum is  $102^{\circ}$ , and at Cuttack temperature has been as high as  $118^{\circ}$ ; while the mean temperature falls from  $88^{\circ}$  in the hot-weather months to  $83^{\circ}$  in the monsoon season and to  $69^{\circ}$  in February. It is one of the hottest districts in the Province, and the account of William Bruton, one of the small band of Englishmen who first visited it in 1683, shews how intensely they felt the heat. On the 28th April, he writes: "At the hours of between eleven and twelve of the clock, it was so excessively hot that we could not travel; and the wind blew with such a sultry scalding heat as if it had come forth of an oven or furnace; such a suffocating fume did I never feel before or since." The cold weather commences in the beginning of November, the temperature begins to cool, and the mornings and evenings are chilly, though the air has not the same bracing invigorating effect as in Northern India. "With March the heat approaches, and by April the hot weather has fairly set in; during these two months, and frequently in May, there are occasionally showers of rain accompanied by strong north-westers. Throughout these three months the heat is

excessive in the day-time, but no sooner has the sun set than a strong sea-breeze prevails, and a punkah can almost be dispensed with, when it is in full force. Formerly the European residents used to repair to the coast during the hot season of the year, and an early account describes Puri as being to the residents of Cuttack what Brighton, Margate and other sea-bathing quarters are to the inhabitants of London. The rainy season begins in June or early in July, and the rains last till the end of September or the month of October, when an unpleasant time of moist heat marks their cessation.

Owing to the dry westerly winds which occasionally sweep across the district in the hot season and to the well-marked south-west monsoon conditions which occur later in the year, humidity undergoes considerable variation, ranging on an average from 72 per cent. of saturation in April and May to 83 per cent. in August. Humidity.

The cyclones which occur in the rains proper (*i.e.*, in June, July, August, and September) are generally small in extent, the barometric depression at the centre seldom exceeding half an inch, and the air motion, though violent, is rarely of hurricane force. The district is not liable to suffer from the devastating cyclones which occasionally occur in the months which precede and follow the full establishment of the south-west monsoon, *i.e.*, during April and May, October and November, as the tendency is for such storms to move into the north of the Bay and recurve towards the Arakan or Bengal coast. But in recent years several severe cyclones have been experienced, the most notable being that of the 23rd September 1885, which caused great havoc in the neighbourhood of False Point. Cyclones.

The normal annual rainfall is 60·43 inches, of which 4·6 inches fall in May, 9·9 in June, 11·7 in July, 12·3 in August, 10·3 in September and 5·8 in October. From June to September the monthly rainfall varies from 10 to 13 inches on an average, with considerable fluctuations from year to year, according as the cyclonic storms are more or less numerous and move in the usual course westward over Orissa. In October the rainfall depends on causes similar to those mentioned below for May and is similar in amount, averaging 4 to 5 inches. Between November and April rainfall is light and is usually caused by local thunderstorms. Cyclonic storms occasionally occur in the north of the Bay of Bengal in May, and with these storms weather of the south-west monsoon type prevails. An extreme case of such rainfall occurred in 1893 when more than 20 inches, or one-third of the normal annual amount, fell in Rainfall.

this month owing to a prolonged cyclonic disturbance in the north-west angle of the Bay.

Statistics of the rainfall for the various recording stations are given below for the cold weather (November to February), the hot weather (March to May) and the rainy season (June to October). The figures shewn are the averages recorded from the earliest year in which rainfall was systematically registered up to the end of 1905 :—

STATIONS.	Years recorded.	November to February.	March to May.	June to October.	Annual average.
CUTTACK ...	40—43	2.52	6.23	51.60	60.35
BANKI ...	18	2.57	4.94	47.24	54.75
DHARMSHALA ...	15—16	2.37	8.13	49.34	59.84
FALSE POINT ...	33—34	4.60	7.21	57.62	69.43
JAGATSIINGHPUR	28—30	3.29	5.54	49.04	57.87
JASPUR ...	28—31	2.86	8.02	50.63	61.51
KENDRAPARA ...	30—31	3.33	6.78	51.03	61.14
SALIPUR ...	14—16	2.42	6.54	49.46	50.42

## CHAPTER II.

## HISTORY.

ORISSA\* practically emerges into the light of history in the rock edicts of Asoka (B.C. 230). The references to its early inhabitants which can be traced in traditional or legendary chronicles are extremely few, and the remains of an anterior date which have been discovered are still fewer. Scanty, however, as are the materials from which any idea of its original inhabitants can be obtained, they are sufficient to justify the inference that in prehistoric times the hills were peopled by savage tribes differing from those which occupied the low lands, and that the intervening plains were in the possession of races somewhat more civilized. The only remains of the stone age hitherto found are some roughly chipped quartzite axes, discovered in Dhenkânâl, Angul, Tâlcher and Sambalpur. Similar axes have been found in considerable numbers in the Madras Presidency, and to a smaller extent in the Central Provinces; and this fact may point to some connection between the tribes living in these localities and those dwelling in Orissa during the stone age.

PREHIS-  
TORIC  
PEOPLES.

It is probable that several of the tribes which still inhabit the hilly country to the west were originally natives of Orissa; but here, as in other parts of India, the absence of reliable data makes it difficult to separate the later immigrants from the early settlers. According to the traditions current among those tribes, the Khonds of the south, the Gonds of the west, and the Hos, Bhumijes and Santâls of the north would appear to have migrated into Orissa in historic times. The Bhuiyâs of Keonjhar allege that they are autochthonous, but the Juângs deny this; and other Bhuiyâs have been found in Rânci and other parts of Chotâ Nâgpur who claim to have been originally settled there.

\* Properly speaking, Orissa (Sans. *Utkala*, vernacular *Odishâ*) means the tract in which the speakers of Oriyâ form the dominant people. During the period of British rule the name has been applied to the tract extending from the Chilka Lake to the river Subarnarekhâ, and comprising the districts of Parî, Cuttack, Balasore, and Angul, besides 17 Tributary States. Unless the context shews otherwise, this will be the meaning of Orissa in this chapter.

The  
Savars

The Savars, who in Cuttack hold a degraded position as hewers of wood, have better claims to be regarded as an indigenous tribe of Orissa. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and Sāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, they are mentioned as one of the degraded races (the Andhras, Pundras, Savars, Pulindas and Mutibas) descended from the fifty sons of the sage Viśvāmitra, who were cursed by their father for being dissatisfied with his acknowledgement of Sanahsepa as his first-born. They are several times alluded to in the Bhagavati, the oldest sacred literature of the Jains, where their language is referred to as one of the *Mlechchhabhāṣās* or barbarous tongues; and they have been identified with the Suari of Pliny and the Sabarai of Ptolemy. In the Mahābhārata, the Savars are placed in the Dakṣiṇāpatha, i.e., the region to the south, and in the Brihat Samhitā in the south-east of India, and this is confirmed by Pliny and Ptolemy. Their geographical distribution has not been much changed, and they are still found in Midnapore, Singhbhūm and Orissa.

The  
Juāṅgs.

The Juāṅgs of the Tributary States, who are one of the most primitive races of India, would seem to be another of the early tribes of Orissa. Till they were clothed by order of the Government, the only covering of the females consisted of a few strings of beads round the waist, with a bunch of leaves before and behind—a practice which has given them the name of Patuas or Patrasaras (leaf-wearers) in Orissa; they had no knowledge of the metals till the 19th century, when foreigners came among them; and no word existed in their own language for iron or any other kind of metal. But their country abounds in flint weapons, and it has been suggested that they are the direct descendants of the ancient stone-cutters. They may be the Parnasavas of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, and the Drilophylletes of Ptolemy.

The  
Pāns.

The Pāns, who are found scattered throughout Orissa, Singhbhūm, Rānchi, and the adjoining tracts in the Central Provinces and Madras, should also probably be regarded as one of the prehistoric peoples of Orissa. Everywhere they rank among the lowest classes; they are employed in servile occupations even by such tribes as the Khonds and Bhuiyās; and in the days of human sacrifices, the Khonds selected a Pān boy as the best sacrifice which could be offered to mother earth. All these facts seem to indicate that they were the original occupants of the soil, who were dispossessed and reduced to slavery by other tribes. They are possibly the Parnakas of the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, and the Nagna-parnas of the Brihat Samhitā mentioned as living in south-eastern India.

The sea-coast and the low lands behind it were presumably occupied by tribes who followed the occupations of fishermen and boatmen. The Kewats, including the cognate castes, the Gokhās and the Mallāhs, have been traced to very early times as the Kewata in Asoka's Pillar Edict No. V, and, in the Sanskrit form of the name, as the Kaiberttas mentioned in the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā and the Taittiriya Brāhmana.

The  
Kewata.

The intervening plains and uplands appear to have been held by tribes on a somewhat higher level of civilization. From the scanty references made to them in later literature, it would seem that some of these tribes were known as Odras and Utkalās. The Odras and the Utkalās appear as different tribes: the former are now and then joined with the Paundras in the Mahābhārata, the Manu Samhitā and the Brihat Samhitā (*Paundra-Odra*), and with the Marundas in the Bhagavatī (*Marund-Odra*), while the Utkalās are connected with Mekalās in the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyana and the Brihat Samhitā. The Paundras occupied the land now known as the Rādha; while Mekalā was the tract round about the Amarakantaka hills, the river Son being specially described in the Harivansa as Mekalā-prabhava. If this connection has any significance, it means that the Odras occupied the eastern and the Utkalās the western side of the country. A tradition in the Harivansa speaks of Utkalā and Gayā as being relatives; and in the Mahāvagga, Tapussa and Bhallika, the first lay-disciples of Buddha, are said to have come to Bodh-Gayā from Utkalā. In course of time, they spread southwards, until the Utkalās were absorbed in the larger tribe of Odras, though they gave their name to the land in Sanskrit works at least before the 5th century A.D. Gradually they spread further south to Kalinga, till that land became divided between two main speeches, the Oriyā and the Telugu.

The  
Utkalās  
and  
Odras.

It seems probable that before the 3rd century B.C., several of the Indo-Aryan castes, such as the Brāhmanas, Kshattriyas, Karans and others, had migrated to Orissa, which then formed part of Kalinga. In the Bandhāyana Dharma Sūtra it is laid down that he who has visited Kalinga must offer a sacrifice in penance; and in support of this an older verse is quoted. In the Mahābhārata pilgrims are asked to avoid Kalinga; it also says that the Kshattriyas in Kalinga had become outcastes; and a similar statement is made in the Manu-Samhitā regarding the Kshattriyas who lived among the Odras. These references appear to point to the migration of several Indo-Aryan castes, and among them there must have been Brāhmanas, though they were not recognized as such in the Madhyadesa. The Māstāns

Early  
Indo-  
Aryan  
settlers.

and the Sāruās are probably the descendants of these early immigrants; they call themselves Brāhmins, and wear the sacred thread, though they neglect the nine *sanskāras* or ceremonies incumbent on Brāhmins, and have taken to forbidden occupations, such as cultivating with their own hands, selling vegetables, etc.

EARLY  
HISTORIC  
PERIOD.

Kalinga.

As Orissa formed part of Kalinga before the conquest of Asoka, its early history is merged in the history of that country. Kalinga extended, according to the Mahābhārata, southwards from the *Gangā-Sāgara-sangama* or the junction of the Ganges with the sea, the river Baitarani in Orissa being specially mentioned as in Kalinga; while, according to Pliny, it stretched as far south as the promontory of Calington, which is identified by Cunningham with the promontory of Coringa at the mouth of the Godāvari. It was an extensive, populous and fairly civilized kingdom. Some idea of the vast number of its population may be gathered from the Rock Edict XIII, which begins with saying that when Asoka conquered Kalinga, 150,000 persons were carried away captive, 100,000 were slain, and many times that number perished. The evidence of the high standard of civilization and prosperity attained in Kalinga is equally striking; elephants were specially bred for the royal forces, of which they formed a prominent part; diamonds of a special kind were quarried and exported; there was an entirely separate measure for medicines; cloth was manufactured and exported in such quantities that Kalinga became the word for cloth in old Tamil; and frequent sea voyages were made to countries outside India, on account of which the Indians came to be called Klings in the Malay Peninsula.

Asoka's  
reign.

As the result of the bloody war mentioned above, Orissa and Kalinga were incorporated in the empire of Asoka in the ninth year of his reign, *i.e.*, in 262 or 261 B.C. The horrors which accompanied this war made a deep impression on the heart of the victorious monarch, who recorded on the rocks in imperishable words the sufferings of the vanquished, the remorse of the victor, and his conviction that the only true conquest is that effected by *dharma*, or the law of piety, and not by force of arms. The rock edicts which he had inscribed in Orissa consist of General Edicts I—X and XIV, and Special Edicts I and II, incised upon the rocks at Dhauli in the district of Puri and at Jaugada in Ganjām. From the special edicts it would appear that the Empire was divided, for administrative purposes, into several great divisions, a prince being placed in charge of each, with the exception of the head-quarters division, containing the capital at Pātaliputra, which was under the direct

supervision of the Emperor; and it was considered necessary to place the extensive and newly conquered territories of Kalinga under a Viceroy stationed at Tosāli (Sep. Edict II). Tosāli, to the officers in charge of which the Dhauli separate edicts were addressed, and Samāpā, to the officers in charge of which the Jaugada separate edicts were addressed, must have been towns not far from the rocks. Hence Tosāli was presumably some place close to the modern Bhubaneswar, which is not far off from Dhauli, has old remains in the neighbouring caves, and from its upland position commanding the bifurcations of the rivers was well fitted for the site of a capital town. Samāpā would similarly seem to have been a town on the river Rishikulyā not far from the modern town of Ganjam.

According to the Purānas, the Mauryan Empire lasted till about 180—170 B.C., and Orissa was therefore under the sway of its kings for 80 to 90 years. During this time it must have come into closer relations with Northern India. Its inaccessibility was to some extent removed by roads lined with banyan and mango groves, with wells and rest-houses, and by the arrangements made for the greater safety of Government messengers and travellers. These measures naturally facilitated an influx not only of officials but also of traders and pilgrims, some of whom eventually settled in the land. Hence in the Mahābhārata, one finds later verses declaring that there were good men in Kalinga, and that *tirthas* existed in that country, thus withdrawing the ban laid on travelling there. With the Jains Kalinga ranked still higher as an *Ariya* country, and naturally so, for one finds traces of their very early residence in the land. The sandstone hills of Udayagiri and Khandgiri, 5 miles north-west of Bhubaneswar, are honeycombed with caves, all of which appear to have been made by the Jains. Of these caves, the Sarpa, Bāgha and Jambesvara caves at Udayagiri, and the two Tātua caves at Khandgiri have short inscriptions in the Brāhmi character of the Mauryan age (3rd century B.C.).

The  
Maurya  
rule in  
Kalinga.

Vrihadrath was, according to the Purānas, the last of the Mauryas. He was dethroned by his general Pushyamitra, who founded the Sunga dynasty about B.C. 180-170; and his overthrow having brought about the disruption of the empire, Kalinga again became independent. This is evident from the interesting but mutilated inscription on the top of the Hāthi Gumphā or Elephant Cave at Udayagiri, which is dated in the 165th year of the Maurya rule, i.e., 153 B.C., and purports to narrate the career of Khāravela, king of Kalinga, up to the thirteenth year of his reign. From this inscription we learn that

Reign of  
Khāravela.

Khāravēla, *alias* Bhikurāja, the son of Vadhārāja and grandson of Khemarāja, of the Cheta royal family, regained the city and fort of Kalinga in the first year of his reign. In the second year he sent a large army to the west to protect Sātakarni, and with the help of the Kusāmba Kshattriyas captured the town of Māsika. In the eighth year he made an expedition against Rājāgriha, whose king fled to Mathurā; next year he harassed the kings of the north, and in the twelfth year he again invaded Magadha and made its king his vassal. Besides this account of his military power, the inscription records the pious deeds of the king, his repair of an alms-house built by Nandarāja, his gifts to Brāhmins and Arhats, the musical entertainments he provided for the people, the assembly of sages he called together, the construction of an aqueduct, and the additions he made to a *chaitya* set up by his predecessors.

This inscription shews that Khāravēla made Kalinga a powerful empire. One of his first acts was to assist Sātakarni, king of the Andhra country, *i.e.*, the tract between the Godāvari and the Krishnā, in fighting against his suzerain, the Sunga Emperor, Pushyamitra, in 164 B.C. The invasion of Magadha and its old capital Rājāgriha later in his reign indicates that the Kalinga king had become not only independent but aggressive. In this war a successful expedition into the heart of the empire led him to the capital, Pātaliputra, on the banks of the Ganges, and compelled the Emperor to sue for peace and acknowledge his independence. The invocation and the mention of Arhats in the inscription afford good grounds for the belief that the king and his family had a leaning towards Jainism, and this is borne out by the inscription in the Svargapuri cave which says that the cave was made for the Arhats by Khāravēla's queen. His successors appear also to have been adherents of Jainism, to judge from the inscriptions they have left in these Jaina caves, as the first inscription in the Manchapuri cave describes it as being made by Vākdepa, who has the same three titles as Khāravēla and was probably his successor, and the second inscription describes the cell as the cave of Kumāra Vadukha, who may be the son of Vākdepa.

The  
Andhra  
rule.

It is not known how long this dynasty lasted or by whom its kings were succeeded. But in the second century A. D., Kalinga appears to have been overshadowed and probably absorbed by the Andhras. Ptolemy in his map shows the whole sea-coast up to the Ganges as included in Maisolia or the Andhra country. The introduction of Buddhism, as handed down by tradition, may be ascribed to the same cause; and it is noticeable

that the Tibetan chronicles have preserved a tradition that Nāgārjuna converted Manja, king of Oṭiṣa, to Buddhism with one thousand of his subjects. Nāgārjuna is believed to have flourished about 200 A.D., in the court of the Sātavāhana, i.e., the Andhra royal family; and the conversion of the people to Buddhism would naturally have been facilitated, if Orissa was subject to that powerful dynasty.

After this there is another gap until one comes to the Imperial Gupta dynasty. In Samudra Gupta's Allahābād pillar inscription, it is said that he captured and then liberated various kings of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, including those of Kosala, Kerala, Pīṣṭapura, Kāncī, Vengī and others. If this be accepted as a record of fact, Orissa must have been conquered, but it is doubtful whether the expressions are not hyperbolic; and this supposition is borne out by the fact that not a single monument or further mention has yet been found of the Gupta conquest of the Deccan.

From an inscription of the Sailodbhava Madhavarāja II, dated 619—20 A.D., we learn that Kongeda, a country which may be identified with the strip of land south of Orissa, had come under the sway of Saśāṅka, the powerful king of Gauda, by the beginning of the 7th century, and Orissa must also have acknowledged his sovereignty. Shortly afterwards both the countries were conquered by Śilāditya Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. The precise date of his conquest is not known, but from the life of Hiuen Tsiang it would appear that he had conquered Orissa before the death of Purnavarman, king of Magadha, as he offered the Buddhist monk, Jayasena, the rental of 80 villages in Orissa in order to induce him to come to his Court, and that he had conquered Kongeda before he met the priests of Orissa who decried the Nalanda doctrines as the "sky-flower" system. It was during Śilāditya's reign that the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang, visited Orissa (639 A.D.), and we have a short but graphic account of the country in his records. The country, he says, was about 7,000 *li* (a *li* is  $\frac{1}{4}$ th to  $\frac{1}{3}$ th of a mile) in circuit, the climate was hot, the soil was fertile, and produced abundance of grain and fruit. The people were uncivilized, tall of stature and of a yellowish-black complexion. They loved learning and applied themselves to it without intermission. Most of them believed in the law of Buddha. There were some hundred monasteries with 10,000 priests, all studying the Mahāyāna or the Great Vehicle, and 50 Deva temples were frequented by sectaries of all sorts. The capital, which has been identified with Jājpur in this district, lay 700 *li* south-west of Tamrāipti (Tamlūk); on the south-west frontier was a

The  
Imperial  
Guptas.

THE  
MEDIEVAL  
PERIOD.

Śilāditya.

miraculous monastery, called Pushpagiri, situated on a great hill; and on the south-east frontier, on the borders of the ocean, lay a great walled port named Charitra.

The  
Kesari  
dynasty.

On the death of Silāditya, his empire was dismembered, and, according to the *Mādalā Pānji* or palm-leaf chronicles of the temple of Jagannāth, Orissa was under the Kesari or Lion dynasty from the 7th to the 12th century A.D. The very existence of this dynasty is denied by several scholars, but in the *Bhakti-bhāgavata Mahākāvya*, a Sanskrit poem of 1409-10 A.D., which gives a very brief history of Orissa, it is distinctly stated that the Kesari kings preceded the Gangas and that Udyota Kesari was one of them; two inscriptions of the time of Udyota Kesari have been discovered, one in the Nabamuni cave on the Khandgiri hill and the other in the Brahmeswar temple at Bhubaneswar. M. Sylvain Levi, moreover, states that in the Japanese edition of the Chinese Tripitaka is a translation of a part of the Buddhist *Buddhāvatamsaka Sūtra*, made by a monk in 796-98 A.D. on a copy of the *Sūtra* which was sent as a present to the Emperor of China by the king of U-tcha (Odra), and that this king is named in the letter of presentation as Sri Māhesvar or Parama Māheshvar Mahārāja, doing-pure lion-king (Subhakara Kesari). Another Kesari king of Orissa, Karna Kesari, is mentioned in the commentary of the historical poem *Rāmapāla-Charitam* as having been defeated by Jayasingh, king of Dandabhukti (Bihār): both the poem and the commentary are believed to be by the same author, probably a contemporary of the hero of the poem, Rāmapāla, king of Magadha, who flourished in the latter half of the 11th century.

Medieval  
civiliza-  
tion.

According to the Brahmeswar inscription, there were five-Kesari kings, the first being Janmejaya and the last Udyota Kesari, who was king of Kalinga and defeated the Singhalas, Chodas and Gaudas. The palm-leaf chronicles attribute most of the great temples at Bhubaneswar to this dynasty, and this, if true, must place it among the most important dynasties of India. From inscriptions and other sources we learn that the fine temple of Brahmeswar was built under the orders of Queen Kolāvati, that the smaller but elaborately-carved temple of Someswar was constructed in the time of Udyota Kesari, and that the large temple of Ananta-Bāsudeva was erected by Bhavadeva Bhatta, probably in the 11th century. The Buddhist remains at Naltigiri, Udayagiri and Ratnāgiri in this district are ascribed by local tradition to Vasukalpa Kesari, the husband of Kolāvati, who may perhaps be identified with the father of Udyota Kesari. The number and magnificence of the remains at Bhubaneswar and

elsewhere make it clear that the kings who erected these great works must have held vast and populous dominions and must have been able to command ample resources. The art of architecture and sculpture must have been well developed to enable such huge and lavishly carved structures to be designed and constructed; the artisans must have received a good training both mechanically and artistically before they could have moved and laid in place (without mortar) such gigantic stone-blocks, or could have produced the vigorous and often exquisitely carved figures, foliage and arabesque patterns, which lend a charm to the carvings adorning these shrines.

These stately temples show the hold which Hinduism had obtained in Orissa by this time, but a few centuries earlier Hiuen Tsiang found Buddhism flourishing side by side with Hinduism, and his account is corroborated by the present of Buddhist scriptures to the Chinese Emperor in the 8th century. The Mahāyāna type of Buddhism, which the Chinese pilgrim found in Orissa, seems to have been supplanted gradually by the Tāntrik forms of the Magadha school, of which traces may be found in the Bodhisatvas, Bhairavas, Tārās and Vajrayoginīs which are still to be seen in the Assia hills of this district. The caves at Khandgiri and Udayagiri just across the border of this district also bear signs of a Jaina revival, probably a reflex of the Jaina influence in the Western Deccan which began during the period of the rule of the Chalukyas and predominated in the time of the Rāshtrakūtas (748-973 A.D.). Magnificent as are these monuments, not a single literary work of this period has as yet come to light. Buddhist philosophy, however, was not neglected, as otherwise the monks would not have dared to challenge and decry the doctrines taught in the great Nālanda monastery. So far too as can be gathered from inscriptions, the study of Sanskrit was kept up; and in the *Sarasvatīkanthā-bharana*, a rhetorical work of the 11th century, a special class of alliterations is distinguished by the name *Odri*.

In the beginning of the 11th century, the Cholas, who had established a great empire in the Deccan, began to extend their power over Orissa, and we learn from the evidence of inscriptions that Rajarāja Rāja-Kesarivarman conquered Kalinga between 1008-1010 A.D., and that his son Rajendra-Choladeva in 1021-1023 subdued "Odda-vishaya, whose copious waters are difficult to approach." These conquests do not appear, however, to have left any permanent mark on the country, being merely brief but successful expeditions, like the defeat of Karna Kesari mentioned above. The rising power of the kings of Kalinga, the Eastern

The  
Eastern  
Ganga  
dynasty.

Gangas of Kalinganagara (the modern Mukhalingam in the Ganjam district), was a much more serious menace to the independence of Orissa. An inscription of 1075-76 A.D. states that the king of the Odda country was one of the kings defeated by a general of Rājārāja I; Chodaganga, the son of this monarch, reconquered Orissa, and on the death of the Odra king it passed finally into his hands. A copper-plate grant of Chodaganga dated 1118-19 describes him as the sovereign over the whole of Utkala; it seems certain therefore that the conquest took place before that date, and it is probable that it occurred soon after his coronation in 1078 A.D.

The rule of the Eastern Ganga kings lasted till 1434-35, the dynasty including altogether 15 kings. Of these by far the most powerful was Chodaganga or Gangasvar, who conquered Vengī on the south and Mandāra on the north, and by these conquests extended his dominions from the Ganges to the Godāvāri. The famous temple of Jagannāth was built by him, and the shrine of Gangasvar in Jāipur, which was apparently constructed under his orders, was named after him. On his death after an extraordinarily long reign of 72 years, his sons succeeded one after the other, but their reigns are almost barren of interest; and we only know that, according to a Bengal inscription, Rāghava (1156-70) was defeated by the Sena king Vijaya Senā, and that the great temple of Megheswar at Bhubaneswar was erected by the brother-in-law of the next monarch between 1193 and 1198.

Muham-  
madan  
raids.

The only notable events in the reigns of the succeeding sovereigns are their struggles with the Musalmāns of Bengal, and later on with the Bāhmani and other Sultāns. In 1205 came the first Muhammadan incursion, when Muhammad-i-Shirān, an officer of Bakhtiyār Khiljī, burst down upon the country, and this incursion was followed by many others. In an inscription at the Jagannāth temple at Chāteswar in this district, the founder, Vishnu, a Brāhman minister of Ananga Bhīma Deva (1211-1238), claimed to have fought with Yāvanas, by which he probably means Ghiās-ud-din Iwaz, the fourth Bengal Sultān, and with the lord of Tummāna in the Chedi country. The Tabakat-i-Nāsiri records in 1244 first a raid made by the Orissan army, and then a counter-raid of the Bengal king Tughril-i-Tughān Khān, which ended with his defeat by the local levies; in 1245 the Oriyās retaliated by marching northwards under Śāban-tar, who took Lakhnor, besieged Lakhnauti, but only raised the siege on the arrival of reinforcements from Oudh and the Doāb; and between 1247 and 1258 there were three battles between the Oriyās under the same

leader and the Muhammadan forces under Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-dīn Yuzbak-i-Tughril Khān of Bengal. In the last of these battles the latter was defeated, but next year he again led his army to the south and captured and sacked the capital, Umurda. All this fighting took place during the reign of Nara Sinha Deva, who is, however, better known to posterity as the founder of the beautiful temple of Konārak. The object of most of the raids was to secure the elephants for which Jājnagar, as the Muhammadan chronicles styled Orissa, was famous. The foray of the Bengal Governor, Tughril Khān, in 1279 or 1280 resulted in the capture of a great number of these animals; in 1323 Ulugh Khān, the son of the Delhi Sultān, Ghiās-ud-dīn Tughlik, took away 40 of them; and similar results followed the inroads of the Bāhmani Sultān, Firoz, in 1412, and of Hushan-ud-dīn Hoshang, the King of Mālwa in 1422. The most remarkable of all, however, was the invasion of the Delhi Emperor, Firoz Shāh, in 1360-61. Leaving the baggage behind, the Emperor marched on to Bihār, and then advanced rapidly through the jungles to Orissa. Crossing the Mahānadi, he occupied the royal residence at Banārasi or Cuttack, from which the Rai had fled to an island in the river. Here Firoz Shāh spent several days hunting elephants, and, when the Oriyā king sent envoys to sue for peace, ironically replied that he had only come to hunt elephants and was surprised that, instead of welcoming him, the Rai had taken flight. Finally, the latter sent a present of 20 elephants and agreed to send a certain number annually as tribute, and the Emperor then started on his return journey. It was a disastrous march; the guides lost their way, the army climbed mountain after mountain without finding any road, and it was not till after six months that the exhausted soldiers succeeded in making their way into open country.

In the meantime, the Vijayanagara kings rose to power, and Orissa was exposed to attack from the south no less than from the north. In 1356-57 Sangama II, the nephew of Bukka I, is said to have defeated the Gajapatis of Orissa; and the Portuguese chronicler, Nuniz, in his account of Vijayanagara (*circa* 1535-37) recorded a tradition that Bukka Rao conquered the kingdom of Orissa. On the death of the last Ganga king, his minister, Kapilendradeva, aided by the nobles and the Bāhmani Emperor, Ahmad Shāh II, seized the throne and founded the Sūryavansa or Solar dynasty in 1435. During his reign of 35 years he was constantly at war. He found the kingdom at a very low ebb, but succeeded by constant wars in extending its limits till it stretched from the Ganges to the Pennar. In Bengal Shams-ud-dīn Ahmad

Shāh was striving to keep up a tottering throne, and here the Oriyās extended their frontier up to the Ganges. In the south the kingdom of Wārāngal had been overthrown, leaving Telingānā divided among a number of petty chiefs, and Kapilendra overran and annexed the country as far as the Krishnā. South of this river, the last two kings of the first Vijayanagara dynasty, harassed by internal revolt and bloody wars with the Bāhmani Sultāns, were struggling to uphold a sinking empire. Taking advantage of their troubles, the Oriyā king annexed the east coast south of the Krishnā as far as Udayagiri near Nellore, and then successfully resisted the attempts of the Bāhmani Sultāns to crush him. In 1457 he forced their army to retire from the siege of Davarakonda, and four years later, on the death of Humāyūn, ravaged their territories up to Bidar. Energetic as was his foreign policy, he showed no less vigour in his internal administration. One of the earliest measures of his reign was to remit the *chaukidāri* tax paid by Brāhmans and the tax on salt and cowries, to stop the resumption of waste and pasture lands, and to issue orders that all the chiefs in Orissa were to work for the general good on pain of banishment and confiscation of their property. He richly endowed the temple of Jagannāth at Purī, and in this district one of his ministers, Gopināth Mahāpātra, built the temple of Jagannāth at Gopināthpura about 1465 A.D.

On the death of Kapilendra in 1470, a civil war ensued, each of his sons disputing the throne, but finally Purusottamadeva overcame his rivals with the help of Muḥammad Shāh II, to whom he ceded the southern districts of Kondāpalli and Rājāmahendri. His subsequent attempt to recover them led to an invasion by Muḥammad Shāh, but the Oriyā king appears ultimately to have regained them, and to have extended his kingdom at least as far as Kondavidu to the south. He also took the opportunity afforded by the confusion which prevailed on the overthrow of the Vijayanagara dynasty to invade that country, and retired with a magnificent booty including the image of Śakshi-gopāla, which is now at Satyabādī in the Purī district. His son Pratāparudradeva ascended the throne in 1497, and had at once to march to the north to repel an invading army sent by the king of Bengal, Alā-ud-dīn; and 10 years later he had again to drive out another force which advanced under the Bengal general, Ismail Khān. In the south he was engaged in constant wars with Narasa, the founder of the second Vijayanagara dynasty, and with his famous son, Krishnarāya, the struggle ending with the cession of all the territory south of the Krishnā

by the Oriyā king. His kingdom was still further reduced by the loss of the tract between the Krishnā and Godāvāri in 1522, when Kuli Kutab Shāh, the founder of the Golconda dynasty, invaded Telingānā and drove out the Oriyā army. Although the reign of Pratāparudradeva was one of decline, it witnessed a great religious revival, owing to the spread of the Vishnuite doctrines. In 1510 Chaitanya, the great apostle of Vaishnavism, repaired to Orissa, and there devoted the rest of his days to the propagation of the faith; he is said to have converted the king and several of his officers, but his preaching was not confined to the court, and the purity of his life and doctrines made a lasting impression on the people generally.

The Solar dynasty did not long survive the death of Pratāparudradeva. The powerful minister, Govinda Bidyādhara, killed his two sons one after the other, and in 1541-42 seized the throne. The short-lived Bhoi dynasty which he established only lasted till 1560, and the few years it covered were spent in civil war. First Raghubhanja, the nephew of Govinda, revolted, but was soon defeated and driven out of the country by his uncle. On the death of his son, whose unpopular reign ended about 1557, the minister, Mukunda Deva, rebelled, and after killing the two last Bhoi kings and defeating Raghubhanja, who had returned at the head of a Bengal army, secured the throne in 1560.

Mukunda Deva, who was a Telugu by birth, was the last independent Hindu king of Orissa, which at this time was in danger from its powerful neighbours both on the north and south. In 1564 Ibrāhīm, the Golconda king, was eager for aggrandizement, and in Bengal Sulaimān Karānī was equally anxious to extend his dominions by annexing Orissa. In 1564-65 Mukunda Deva concluded a treaty with the Emperor Akbar, which was intended as a counterpoise to the ambition of the Afghāns in Bengal, but this measure did not long help the Oriyā king. In 1567 Ibrāhīm, who had invaded Rājamahendri unsuccessfully three years previously, conquered the country as far north as Chicācole; and next year Sulaimān Karānī finding Akbar fully occupied by wars in the west, attacked Mukunda Deva when he had marched to the banks of the Ganges, and forced him to take refuge in the frontier fort of Kotsamā. He then detached a part of his force under his Afghan general, Ilāhābād Kālā Pāhār, who quickly marched southwards through Mayūrbhanj, defeated the king's deputy, and ravaged Orissa. At this juncture, one of the Oriyā chiefs raised the standard of revolt, and hearing of this, Mukunda Deva hurried south to save his kingdom, but was defeated and slain by the rebel

forces, whose leader was in his turn killed by the Muhammadan invaders. Raghubhanja escaped from the prison in which he had been confined by Mukunda Deva, and attempted to secure the empty throne, but after some four months desultory fighting, his death left the Afghāns masters of Orissa (1568 A.D.). ✓

General  
condition  
of the  
country.

Of the internal state of the country during these five centuries of Hindu sovereignty, we have unfortunately very little record. Both Buddhism and Jainism were neglected by the Ganga and the Solar kings, and, if the palm-leaf records can be believed, the followers of those religions were persecuted by the former line. The Gangas did not however neglect the older Saiva worship; the temples of Megheswar at Bhubaneswar and of Chāteswar in Cuttack were built during their rule; and, though they did not build any temples themselves, their rich gifts to the shrines at Bhubaneswar shew that they were the royal patrons of Saivism. At the same time, they seem to have been catholic in their religious tastes, as the great fane of Jagannāth at Puri, the massive sun-temple of Konārak, and probably also the fine temple of Vishnu at Mādhav in this district were built under their orders. The Sūryavansa kings followed in their footsteps, and liberally endowed the Puri temple, and a minister of theirs erected the fine temple of Jagannāth at Gopināthpura.

The land was a land of plenty, producing abundance of grain and fruit, and according to Shams-i-Sirāj Afif it was currently reported that 2 *jitals* was the price of a horse, and as for cattle no one would buy them. In spite of this plenty, the people were occasionally exposed to the horrors of famine. The palm-leaf chronicles mention one such famine in the reign of Kapilendradeva when the price of a *bharan* of paddy rose to 105 *kāhāns* of cowries, and another in the same reign when it rose to 105 *kāhāns*, while in the reign of Pratāparudradeva it was once as high as 125 *kāhāns*. Except in times of distress, provisions were exceedingly cheap, cowrie-shells were the only medium of exchange among the people generally, and there was no demand for a gold or silver currency.

Literature and the fine arts were cultivated with some success. Standard rhetorical works were produced at the end of the 13th century; several poems date back to the days of the Solar dynasty; while besides these there were works on law, domestic ritual, astrology and even music. These were written in Sanskrit, but the vernacular was steadily gaining popularity, and the earliest Oriyā works were composed during the latter part of the Sūryavansa rule, such as the Bhāgavata, the great religious work of Jagan-nātha Dāsa.

The Afghān conqueror was not content, like previous invaders, with levying a ransom from the Province, but marched through it to its southern extremity and besieged and captured Puri. In the year following the conquest, the Afghān king took his departure from Orissa, leaving the government of the country in the hands of a deputy. No sooner was his back turned, however, than the Orissa feudal militia gathered its fragments together for another struggle, and revolted. The Bengal king immediately marched southwards with his Afghān veterans, and succeeded in restoring his supremacy; but he contented himself till the end of his reign in 1572-73 with a distant sway.

His second son, Dāūd Khān, who succeeded to the governorship of Bengal, threw off all allegiance to the Mughal Emperor at Delhi, and declared himself independent. In the struggle which ensued, the Afghān king was worsted and retired into Orissa. Early in 1574 a great battle took place at Mughalmārī in the Midnapore district, between the Mughals under Munim Khān and Rājā Todar Mal, and the Afghāns under Dāūd Khān, in which the latter were completely defeated. After the battle, Munim advanced upon Cuttack, where a peace was concluded, Dāūd renouncing all claim to Bengal and Bihār, in return for which he received the Province of Orissa as a fief from the Mughal Emperor. Upon the death of Munim Khān, however, in the following year, Dāūd revolted and overran Bengal with his troops. The Afghāns were again defeated in 1576; Dāūd Khān was slain; and two years later, Orissa became a Province of Akbar's empire.

The Mughals owed the annexation of Orissa to Akbar's famous Hindu general, Rājā Todar Mal. No sooner had he left Orissa, however, than the Afghān remnant sallied forth from the hill retreats in which they had taken refuge, and in 1580 the Province again revolted against the Empire. Some years of confused fighting followed; and it was not till Akbar sent another Hindu general, Rājā Mān Singh, against Orissa, that any sort of settled government could be restored. Mān Singh completely defeated the rebels in a great battle, captured all forts and strongholds, and finally reannexed it to the rent-roll of the Empire in 1592. From that year the imperial commissions (*sanads*) appointing a Governor of the Lower Provinces regularly include 'Bengal, Bihār, and Orissa.' The Hindu element remained loyal amid the perfidy of the Afghāns; and the representative of the ancient native dynasty, with three of his family, were made *grandees* of the Delhi Court. Hereafter, the Orissa Afghāns, although they fired up from time to time, found themselves

THE  
MUHAM-  
MADAN  
CONQUEST.

ANNEXA-  
TION OF  
ORISSA BY  
THE  
MUGHALS.

crushed between the Mughal Province of Bengal on the north, and the loyal Hindu dependency of Orissa on the south. In 1598 they took advantage of the Bengal Governor's absence to rebel again, but received so severe a punishment as to prevent any revolt for the next thirteen years. Another rising followed in 1611, which ended in their almost total extermination by the victorious Mughal general. This defeat virtually ended the struggle between the Afghāns and Mughals, and Orissa remained simply a Province of the Mughal Empire until 1751, when the Marāthās obtained it. The remnants of the Afghāns still used it as a basis for marauding expeditions, one of which in 1695-98 attained the dignity of a revolt, and temporarily wrested Western Bengal and Orissa from the Empire. Some time before this the English had appeared on the scene. In 1633 a small expedition headed by Cartwright came from Masulipatam to Orissa and obtained permission to trade in the country. But, so far as this district is concerned, their stay was very short. A factory was founded at Hariharpur, but was abandoned after a few years, and the English settlement was withdrawn.

Orissa, even after the extirpation of the Afghāns, still remained a source of weakness rather than of strength to the Empire. The politic governor who ruled Bengal from 1704 to 1725, Murshid Kulī Khān, in despair of being able to get in its revenues by civil administrators, made it over to soldiers of fortune, who collected the land tax at the spear point, and kept back as much of it as they dared from their distant master. As the latter strengthened his power, however, he sent his son-in-law to govern Orissa in 1706, and annexed the northern part of the Province (now Midnapore district) to Bengal. During the thirty years which succeeded his death, the internal troubles which beset the Mughal Government prevented anything like a settled government in Orissa; the peasantry were left at the mercy of a succession of rude soldiers, who harried the Province and got together as much plunder as their brief tenure of office allowed them.

In 1742 the Marāthās came down upon Bengal, and found Orissa an admirable basis for their annual inroads, exactly as the Afghāns had for their revolts. Nine years later, in 1751, the Governor of Bengal, Ali Vardi Khān, bought them off, by practically ceding to them the Province of Orissa, and agreeing to pay twelve lakhs of rupees as *chauth* for Bengal. The treaty of 1751, which severed Orissa from the Mughal Empire, nominally preserved the dignity of the Emperor, and a Musalmān chief was appointed to govern in his name. But although the commissions still bore the Imperial seal, the Emperor's deputy collected

the land tax with Marāthā troopers, and made it over to the Marāthā prince. In a very short time this last pageant of dependence upon the Empire disappeared. The Muhammadan deputy of the Emperor was assassinated, and his successor speedily found himself unable to carry on the appearance of a government. The ancient feudal organization among the peasantry and native chiefs, although long since powerless for purposes of defence, still availed for harassing resistance. In 1755-56 the nominal deputy of the Mughal Emperor could not even wring the stipulated Marāthā tribute out of the Province, and begged to be released from his office. A few months later, a Marāthā obtained the undisguised governorship, and from that date till 1803 Orissa remained a Marāthā Province.

Wretched as the state of Orissa had been under the Mughals, a half-century of deeper misery remained for it under the Marāthās. The Marāthā prince had his capital or standing camp at Nāgpur in Central India, and waged incessant war upon his neighbours. His deputies, who were constantly changed, and imprisoned on their recall, struggled to wring out of Orissa—the only peaceful Province of his kingdom—a sufficiency to supply the military necessities of their master. All the offices connected with raising the revenue were sold to the highest bidder at the Marāthā Court at Nāgpur. Every deputy who came to Orissa had ruined himself in order to buy his appointment, and he well knew that the time allowed him for rebuilding his fortunes would be but short. From the hereditary Orissa Prince he managed to wring about £130,000 a year; the smaller proprietors he ousted without mercy from their lands; and he laid heavy burdens upon the pilgrims of Jagannāth. By degrees these atrocities began to work their own cure. The peasant militia of Orissa, strong in the network of rivers, defied the Marāthā troops; and the collection of the revenue in the hilly frontier simply reduced itself to an annual campaign, 'in which,' says Mr. Stirling, 'to say nothing of the expenditure of blood and treasure, the Marāthās were nearly as often worsted as successful.'

THE  
MARATHA  
RULE.

There appears to be no trace of anything like a settled administration. The Marāthā cavalry harried the country at stated periods each year, and departed with the spoil; and the internal organization of the village communes formed the only sort of civil government. Each village had its semi-hereditary, semi-elective head, who ruled the hamlet, and represented it to the Marāthā receiver. When the extortions of the latter passed all bounds, the village temporized till it could get its headman out of his clutches, and then the whole community decamped with their

cattle into the jungle. But though the swamps and forests yielded an asylum from the Marāthā spearmen, the peasantry could not fly from the consequences of their own flight. The Province lay untilled, and any failure of the rice crops produced a famine. Within seven years two terrible scarcities afflicted Orissa. The famine of 1770, a scarcity of much greater intensity than that of 1866, instead of being mitigated by State importations and relief depôts, was intensified by a mutiny of foreign troops. While the people were dying by hundreds of thousands on every roadside, the Marāthā soldiery threw up the last vestige of control, and for many months ranged like wild beasts across the country. Seven years afterwards, in 1777, another great famine ensued; and as the Marāthā power at Nāgpur decayed, each party into which it split separately harried and plundered the Province.

There were no courts or jails, and the country was infested by thieves and dacoits. If an Oriyā caught a thief in his house at night, he used to brand him by burning, and then let him loose; but sometimes the villagers would rise and kill the thief outright. The Governor's camp-followers lived by plunder, and men struggled to get even this mean post, while to be one of his regular sepoys was to be a king. The Marāthās systematically stripped all rich travellers on the road, while those who escaped the Marāthās were attacked and sometimes killed by the bands of dacoits which lurked in the jungles. Poor people never thought of going to Puri unless they were very pious; those devotees that did always travelled in large bands for mutual protection; and rich men were obliged to retain a strong escort of soldiers armed with swords, spears and matchlocks. The revenue was collected by means of torture and violence. If the people did not pay, they were first beaten with sticks, and then tortured, and in their search for money the Marāthās would dig up the floors, probe the walls, and sometimes pull them down altogether. A favourite mode of torture was to thrust a brass nail between the finger-nails and the flesh, and another was the *chapuni*. This consisted of throwing the man on the ground, placing two crossed bamboos over his chest, and gradually pressing on them till the man consented to pay what was demanded. If he still refused to pay, the operation was repeated on his stomach, back, legs, arms, etc. If the Marāthās saw a man was fat, they said that he had eaten plenty of *ghi*, and must be wealthy—so all people tried to keep lean. If they saw any one wearing clean clothes, they declared he could afford to pay—so all people went about in dirty clothes. If they saw a man with a door to his house, they said it was plain he had money—

so people either did not keep doors, or hid them when the Maráthás underlings were coming. Above all, if a man lived in a masonry house, he was sure to be fleeced, as the Maráthás held that a man who could build such a house could always afford them Rs. 100. They also had another test to find out whether a man had money. They got together the leaves which serve as plates, and on which is served the family repast, and poured water over them; if this did not cover every part of the leaves, they declared that they were greasy, and that the family were all *ghí*-eaters, and must be possessed of money.

From this terrible oppression the people were delivered by the occupation of the country by the English in 1803. The conquest of Orissa by the English formed a part of the great campaign against the Maráthás in Central India, undertaken by the Marquis of Wellesley. The force destined for the expedition against Cuttack started from Ganjam on the 8th September 1803, under the command of Colonel Harcourt, and marched along the narrow strip of coast between the sea and the Chilka lake. Manikpatná was reached on the 15th, having been abandoned by the enemy without resistance. It took two days to cross the dangerous channel through which the Chilka communicates with the sea; and had the enemy made a determined stand there, our position would have been one of considerable danger and difficulty. Leaving Narsinghpatná on the 18th, our forces entered Puri without opposition. After a halt of two days in the holy city, Colonel Harcourt told off a detachment of Hindu sepoys for the protection of the temple, and resumed his march. The Maráthás, who had gathered in a camp on the other side of the river which flows past the city, at first opened a sharp fire upon our troops, but soon broke and fled. We crossed the river, driving them out of the wood in which they had entrenched themselves. The real difficulties of the expedition now began. There were no roads; the cart tracks, which did duty as roads, were rendered almost impassable by water and mud, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the guns and supplies could be dragged along. The enemy, though not daring to come to close quarters, threw out skirmishers and impeded the progress of our troops by every means which their superior knowledge of the country put in their power. A night attack on the Maráthá camp was made on the 2nd October; the enemy were found leisurely eating their dinner, and were driven out. The Maráthás then took up a position before a town called Mukundpur, near Pipli. On the 4th October they attacked our advanced guard in vastly superior numbers, but were repulsed with considerable loss.

THE  
ENGLISH  
CONQUEST.

They made good their retreat into the jungles of Khurdā; and no further opposition was offered to the march of our troops, who reached the banks of the Kātjuri a few days after the action at Mukundpur.

The crossing of the river was effected safely; and on the 8th October Colonel Harcourt entered Cuttack city by way of the Lalbāgh, quite unopposed, the gates being open and all the houses empty. The inhabitants had fled in alarm to Tānghi, ten miles north of the Mahānadi, and did not return until the proclamation issued by Colonel Harcourt and Mr. Melvill, c.s., "the Commissioners for settling the affairs of Cuttack," inspired them with confidence in the new rule. Their fears were probably aroused by the restrictions which it was deemed necessary to impose on their personal liberty, and which were not completely removed until November 1805. Had the inhabitants been hostile to our cause and attacked our rear, or fired on our troops from the houses as they marched through the town to storm the fort, the position would have been a critical one. Every precaution having been taken to guard against any such contingency, preparations for the storming of the fort were at once commenced. Six days sufficed to erect the batteries and make the approaches, and the fort was taken by storm on the 14th October.

\*Equal success attended the expedition against the town of Balasore, which had been despatched from Bengal; and the three principal towns of the Province having fallen into our hands, a part of the force was, in pursuance of the original plan of the campaign, despatched under Major Forbes to force the Barmūl Pass. Colonel Harcourt with another detachment marched against Kujang, by way of Patāmundai. The Rājā of Kujang had been detected carrying on a correspondence with the Rājās of Kanikā and Harishpur, with a view of entering into a triple alliance, offensive and defensive, against the British authority. The Rājā fled as soon as he received tidings of the near approach of the troops. His elder brother, whom he had kept a close prisoner, was released and placed on the *gadi*, and a large reward was offered for the apprehension of the fugitive, who was captured shortly afterwards and confined in the fort at Cuttack. His fortifications were all dismantled; and the cannon found in them carried away to Cuttack. Before returning, Colonel Harcourt completed the success of his expedition by reducing to submission the turbulent Rājās of Kanikā and Harishpur. Their forts were also demolished, and the guns found in them taken away. In carrying out these measures no resistance was met with; and they were undertaken more with a view of impressing the people

with a sense of the strength of the British arms than from the necessity of putting down any serious armed opposition.

The conquest was effectual and complete, and the district has since enjoyed a tranquillity broken only by the Khurda rebellion of 1817. The *paiks*, or old landed militia, broke out into revolt, in consequence of the ruin and oppression which the early system of English government brought to them. Owing to the resumption of their service tenures, they had been deprived of the lands which they had enjoyed from time immemorial, and were subjected to the grossest extortion and oppression at the hands of the farmers, *sarbarāhkārs* and other underlings, to whom our Government entrusted the collection of the revenue, as well as to the tyrannies of a corrupt and venal police. They formed a wild and motley crowd with their war dress of a cap and vest made of a tiger or leopard skin, a sort of chain armour for the body and thigh, and a girdle formed of the tail of some wild animal; and they further heightened the ferocity of their appearance by smearing their limbs with yellow clay and their faces with vermilion. But savage though their equipment was, they fought well, defeating the troops first sent against them, and for some time held undisputed possession of the country. The insurrection was most formidable in the sub-division of Khurda and that part of the Puri district immediately adjoining it, but the rising was pretty general all over the southern and eastern parts of Orissa. In Cuttack the *paiks* burnt the thānas of Asureswar, Tiran and Hariharpur, and committed various ravages in the country surrounding them. They had however no recognized leader of ability in these parts, though they were secretly encouraged by the Rājās of Kujang and Kanikā; and their actions were more those of bands of dācoits than of a people striving to rid themselves of a foreign yoke. An expedition was despatched against them from Cuttack, a force of about 2,000 *paiks* was utterly routed near Kujang, and the Rājā, seeing that further resistance was hopeless, surrendered. By the end of October 1817 British authority was completely restored in Kujang, the detachment stationed there was withdrawn, and military law ceased to be in force. Though bands of *paiks* continued for some time to infest the jungles of Khurda, the rebellion in this district was completely stamped out, and the country gradually became pacified and soon recovered its accustomed tranquillity and security.

THE  
KHURDA  
REBELLION.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE PEOPLE.

GROWTH  
OF  
POPULA-  
TION.  
Early  
estimates.

PRIOR to 1872 no regular census of the district by the simultaneous enumeration of the people had ever been taken; but several rough attempts were made from time to time to estimate the number of inhabitants. Stirling in his Account of Orissa, written in 1822, estimated the population of the district as 1,296,365 persons, his calculations being based upon an enumeration of the dwellings, allowing 5 persons to each house. Twenty years later the Revenue Survey of 1842 returned the population of Cuttack at 553,073; a subsequent attempt at a census shewed it as 800,000; and yet another estimate was made in 1847, according to which the district contained 1,018,979 persons, giving an average pressure of 320 persons per square mile. All these estimates were very rough, as they were made simply by counting the houses through the agency of the police and assigning an average number of inhabitants to each dwelling. In 1855, however, an attempt was made to obtain more accurate figures, special officers being appointed to test the returns by counting the houses and their actual inhabitants in different parts of the district, and thus to ascertain the correct average for each house. The result disclosed an average of slightly over  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inhabitants to each dwelling, and the population was returned at 1,293,084. About ten years afterwards another rough census was taken at the close of the famine of 1866, the landholders being called upon to submit returns of the surviving inhabitants; and it was estimated that the total population amounted to 1,072,463 persons.

Census of  
1782, 1881  
and 1891.

The first census which can be regarded as in any way approximating to the truth was taken in 1872, by which time the population had probably increased materially owing to the return of the people who had fled from their homes during this last great calamity. That census disclosed a total population of 1,494,784 souls with an average density of 470 to the square mile; and in 1881 it was found that the population had risen to 1,738,165 and that the pressure of the population amounted

to 494 persons per square mile. The census of 1891 showed a large increase, the total number of persons recorded being 1,937,671 and the density 533 per square mile. A portion of the increase was due to the annexation of Bānki with a population of 57,368 and an area of 116 square miles; but even if the figures for that tract are included in the previous returns, the growth of population was 16·24 per cent. between 1872 and 1881 and 7·9 per cent. in the decade ending in 1891. The census of 1872 however was probably incorrect, and it has been suggested that the actual population exceeded the census figures by at least 100,000. This would reduce the rate of growth in the succeeding nine years to 13 per cent., which is about what might be expected during the period when the district was recovering from the terrible famine of 1866. The progress during the next decade would probably have been greater, were it not that the district suffered generally from repeated outbreaks of cholera, and that in certain localities scarcity and the great cyclone of 1885 seriously affected the growth of the population. In the head-quarters sub-division, Bānki remained almost stationary owing to a scarcity almost amounting to famine, which, although it caused no deaths, drove a large number to emigrate. In the Kendrāpāra sub-division the great cyclone of September 1885 destroyed 45 villages in thāna Patāmundai, most of the inhabitants of which were either drowned or succumbed to the fever and cholera which usually form the sequel of such calamities, while those that survived emigrated to tracts less exposed to the destructive action of storm-waves.

The result of the census of 1901 was a further increase of 125,087, or 6·5 per cent., the diminution of the rate of growth as compared with that in the previous decade being probably due to the loss suffered by the movements of the people. The general increment was shared by all parts of the district, and the rate of development was remarkably uniform throughout. The growth of population was least in the already densely inhabited thānas, Cuttack, Sālipur, Jāipur and Jagatsinghpur, and greatest in the sparsely inhabited thānas, Patāmundai and Aul on the sea-coast, where the construction of protective embankments and the offer of easy terms of settlement led to considerable reclamations of land which had been thrown out of cultivation by the salt-water floods of 1885. The inland thānas adjoining the Garjāt States, Dharmshāla and Bānki, which have a very sparse population, came next, and then Kendrāpāra, where the population, though more dense than in the western part of the district, is less so than in the central thānas.

## Density.

Density of population is very largely determined by the physical aspects of the three distinct areas into which the district is divided. In the maritime police circles the pressure of the population, which falls in the Aul thāna to 298 persons to the square mile, is greatly reduced by a belt of saline soil, in places as much as 30 miles wide, running along the sea and covered by sand, coarse grass or shrub, in which agriculture is almost unknown. In the submontane strip, a region of rocky hill and barren soil, which supports a scanty and semi-Hinduized population, the density is somewhat higher than in the salt tract, but is still comparatively low, being 386 persons to the square mile in the Dharmshāla police circle and 577 in Banki. The alluvial plain lying between these two estimates is highly cultivated, and has in parts a density of population very little less than that of the most thickly inhabited parts of Eastern Bengal and Tirhut. The pressure is greatest (933 persons to the square mile) in the Sālipur thāna, lying in the heart of the district between the two principal branches of the Mahānadi river, where nearly every field is reached by the canals and distributaries of the great Orissa irrigation system. In the neighbouring thānas of Jāipur and Kendrapāra the land bears 842 and 765 persons to the square mile; and considering that the population is almost entirely agricultural, the density may reasonably be considered to be very great. Taking the district as a whole, the density per cultivated square mile is 1,084, the cultivated area, according to the returns of 1903-04, being 1,903 square miles. On the other hand, it has been calculated that each square mile of unirrigated land would support 1,167 persons and each square mile of irrigated land 1,515 persons; and there is, therefore, still room for the expansion of the people on the soil which has been brought under the plough, though the density is already very great.

## Migration.

From the fact that in the census of 1901 the number of persons born in Cuttack who were enumerated elsewhere in India was 116,759, and that only 32,944 persons born elsewhere were enumerated in this district, it will be apparent that the number of emigrants is far in excess of the number of immigrants. Large numbers are attracted to the sparsely inhabited Native States forming the western boundary of the Division, where much arable land is still unoccupied; and to judge from the equality of the sexes, the emigration into the contiguous districts is also probably permanent. The net excess of emigrants to the adjoining districts of Balasore and Puri is about 14,000—a result which is only to be expected, as Cuttack is the most densely populated district in the Division. It loses considerably more than this

number, however, by migration to distant places, chiefly to the metropolitan area, Assam and the Central Provinces. Large numbers go to Calcutta and its neighbourhood to serve as *palki*-bearers, *darwans* and labourers; natives of the district are found working as cooks and domestic servants throughout Bengal; and numerous emigrants go to the Sundarbans as cultivators and field labourers. This overflow is, however, mostly temporary or periodic, and its most noticeable feature is the very small proportion of women who accompany the men; only 4,179 of the 54,197 emigrants enumerated in distant parts of the Provinces being women. The advent of the railway has naturally afforded far greater facilities for communication with the outside world than previously existed, and has greatly stimulated migration. Natives of the district employed in Bengal return home at much more frequent intervals than formerly, and, on the other hand, the number seeking employment elsewhere has greatly increased. Of the immigrants, the greater portion (22,664) come from the adjoining districts, and the remainder is almost entirely made up of immigrants from other Provinces. The number of the latter (8,161) was however swelled by the sepoya belonging to a wing of a Madrâsi regiment which was stationed at Cuttack at the time of the census.

There are only three towns, Cuttack, Jâjpur and Kendrâpâra, Towns and villages. with a population of over 5,000, and the total number of their inhabitants is only 78,720, or 3·8 per cent. of the population. The remainder of the people are clustered together in 5,517 villages. The people have hitherto developed no tendency towards city life; and while the rural population has grown very largely during the last 30 years, the towns have done little more than hold their own. No new centres of industry have sprung up, and the rapid development of commerce and manufactures which is so powerful a factor in the increase of urban population is as yet unknown. The total number of towns-folk has increased only by 12,000 in the last 30 years, and the two towns of Jâjpur and Kendrâpâra contain only 3,330 more inhabitants than they did in 1872. Even Cuttack, the capital of Orissa, has shown little progress as a city, though it focuses the trade of that Province. Situated at the first bifurcation of the river Mahânadi, protected by massive embankments from its floods, and forming the nucleus of a widely ramified system of canals, it nevertheless has failed as yet to attract the homestead-loving people of Orissa in any large numbers; and though it is the largest town in Orissa, its inhabitants still number only 51,364. Of late, however, there appears to have been a greater influx of permanent settlers, owing to the

advent of the railway, and its population has grown by 9 per cent. since 1891, while the district, taken as a whole, has added only 6.5 per cent. to its numbers. The Oriyā appears to have an inherent aversion to town life; he will not voluntarily leave his hereditary fields, and even when forced to betake himself to a town, he strives to reproduce his village life in his new surroundings. The distinction generally between an urban and rural population is primarily in respect of occupation, the agricultural class naturally predominating in the villages, while in the towns, where the trading and professional classes form the majority of the population, it is an unimportant section. Except in Cuttack, however, the distinction is not by any means well marked, as Jājpur and Kendrapāra comprise a number of more or less scattered hamlets, the inhabitants of which are to a greater or less extent employed in agriculture; and even in Cuttack with its crowded streets and bazars, many parts are distinctly rural in character with trim homesteads nestling in small orchards.

Sex and  
age.

In common with the other districts of Orissa, Cuttack has a marked excess of females over males, there being 1,072 females to every thousand males. The two local castes of fairly high status (Karan and Khandait) have a far larger proportion of women than those of equal rank elsewhere, and among the functional groups the excess of females is greater than anywhere else in Bengal. The proportion of unmarried persons is also higher than in other parts of Orissa, viz., 525 out of 1,000 males and 348 out of every thousand females.

The number of children under 10 per 1,000 of the population has fallen considerably since 1881, and the proportion they bear to the number of married women aged 15 to 40 is now lower than in any other part of Bengal, except South Bihār. This decline may be attributed to the fact that in 1881 the district was recovering from the great famine of 1866, *i.e.*, its population was growing at a specially rapid rate, and the proportion of young people was therefore exceptionally high. The population has now regained its normal condition, and the proportion of children has fallen accordingly. The average age of the people has been steadily increasing during the last 20 years; the population has grown by more than the Provincial average in spite of the low proportion of children; and it may be concluded that the people enjoy a longer span of life than those in many other parts of Bengal.

LANG-  
UAGE.

Oriyā is the mother-tongue of the large majority of the people, but English, Hindi, Bengali and Telugu are also spoken. English is the language of the small English settlement, of the larger Eurasian element and of the better educated natives. Hindi is

used by a large number of the Muhammadan residents of the district, by members of the police force who have been recruited from up-country, and by the pensioned sepoys of the various Madras regiments which have garrisoned Cuttack. There are always a certain number of Bengalis among the professional classes in the district; and Telugu is spoken by some weavers, sweepers and others who came and settled here during the last Madras famine, as well as by other immigrants from that Presidency: it is sufficiently common to make it necessary to employ an interpreter in the Criminal Courts at Cuttack.

More than 96 per cent. of the people speak Oriyā,\* or as it is sometimes called Odri or Utkali, *i.e.*, the language of Odra or Utkal, both of which are ancient names for the country now called Orissa. Oriyā, with Bengali, Bihāri and Assamese, forms one of the four speeches which together make up the eastern group of the Indo-Aryan languages. Its grammatical construction closely resembles that of Bengali, but it has one great advantage over Bengali in the fact that, as a rule, it is pronounced as it is spelt. There are few of those slurred consonants and broken vowels which make Bengali so difficult to the foreigner. Each letter in each word is clearly sounded, and it has been well described as "comprehensive and poetical, with a pleasant sounding and musical intonation, and by no means difficult to acquire and master." The Oriyā verbal system is at once simple and complete. It has a long array of tenses, but the whole is so logically arranged, and built on so regular a model, that its principles are easily impressed upon the memory. It is particularly noticeable for the very complete set of verbal nouns, present, past, and future. When an Oriyā wishes to express the idea embodied in what in Latin would be called the infinitive, he simply takes the appropriate verbal noun, and declines it in the case which the meaning necessarily requires. As every infinitive must be some oblique case of a verbal noun, it follows that Oriyā grammar does not know the so-called infinitive mood at all. In this respect Oriyā is in an older stage of grammatical development than even classical Sanskrit, and, among Indo-Aryan languages, can only be compared with the ancient Sanskrit spoken in the Vedic times.

The archaic character, both of form and vocabulary, runs through the whole language, and is no doubt accounted for by geographical position. Orissa has ever been an isolated country bounded on the east by the ocean, and on the west by the hilly tracts inhabited by

\* This account of the Oriyā language has been condensed from Dr. Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India, vol. V.

wild aboriginal tribes. On the south the language is Dravidian and belongs to an altogether different family, while, on the north, it has seldom had political ties with Bengal. On the other hand, the Oriyās have been a conquered nation. For eight centuries Orissa was subject to the kings of Telinga, and, in modern times, it was for fifty years under the sway of the Bhonslas of Nāgpur, both of whom left deep impressions of their rule upon the country. On the language they imposed a number of Telugu and of Marāthī words and idioms, which still survive. These are, so far as we know, the only foreign elements which have introduced themselves into Oriyā, except the small vocabulary of English court terms, and a few other English expressions, which English domination and education have brought into vogue. Cuttack, especially the town, is however to a certain extent affected by Bengalisms, owing to the residence there of a number of Bengalis who have been settled in the district for some generations. In former times sales of Orissa estates for arrears of land revenue were held in Calcutta, and the purchasers were frequently Calcutta Bengalis who settled in Cuttack. These Bengalis and their descendants have developed a curious jargon of their own, their ancestral language being interlarded with Oriyā and Hindī expressions. Owing to their frequent use of the word *kare*, a corruption of the Oriyā *kari*, their speech is vulgarly known as *kerā* Bengali; and this mongrel language has in its turn reacted on the local Oriyā.

Written  
character.

Oriyā is encumbered with the drawback of an excessively awkward and cumbrous written character. This character is, in its basis, the same as Devanāgarī, but is written by the local scribes with a stylus on a talipot palm-leaf. These scratches are, in themselves, legible, but in order to make them more plain, ink is rubbed over the surface of leaf and fills up the furrows which form the letters. The palm-leaf is excessively fragile, and any scratch in the direction of the grain tends to make it split. As a line of writing on the long, narrow leaf is necessarily in the direction of the grain, this peculiarity prohibits the use of the straight top line, or *mātrā*, which is a distinguishing characteristic of the Devanāgarī character. For this the Orissa scribe is compelled to substitute a series of curves, which almost surround each letter. It requires remarkably good eyes to read an Oriyā printed book, for the exigencies of the printing press compel the type to be small, and the greater part of each letter is this curve, which is the same in nearly all, while the real soul of the character, by which one is distinguished from another, is hidden in the centre, and is so minute that it is often difficult to